4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing. Steinen's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

Food preparation.—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a balcacua of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Steinen's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Magalon (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

The men's house (ebeja) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors [illegible] during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

The dwelling house (ebeja, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Steinen describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

[illegible] of 250 to 500 for the old Munduruc villages.

The aboriginal Munduruc village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or aldeia.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The Munduruc say too that "It is beautiful here for you can see far."

[illegible] The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Inner ends of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

[illegible] The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [illegible] the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

* The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: ã is pronounced like the German ä; ĩ and ũ are pronounced as in Portuguese lara and sabe, respectively.

the ground. Between these beams, the men stretched their hammocks to sleep.

Like all Tropical Forest Indian villages, the Munduruú village shifted location every five to ten years due to the exhaustion of nearby stands of high forest in which to make gardens. Each village had a definite area, usually a certain savannah, in which it moved. After 30 to 50 years a new forest cover on previously used land made it adaptable to horticulture again. Today, the reduced population of the contemporary villages makes frequent village shift due to lack of garden land unnecessary, but a new village is built every ten years due to the rapid decay of the houses, and also because the immediate environs become overgrown with weeds that are soon infested with insects and snakes. The locale of the new village was chosen by common consent, and the houses were built collectively. The last structure to be built was the men's house. Until it was built the flutes were kept in the old men's house.

The men's house

The Munduruú exhibited the most complete development of the male-female social division and accompanying men's house complex to be found in South America. Among the Canayura, the men's house is a ritual center.[14] Among the Sorcra, it serves this function and is also a bachelor's and young men's sleeping quarter.[15] However, all the Munduruú males from the age of about seventeen, worked, gathered and held council,

14. Oberg, 1953, p. 84.

15. Colbacchini, 1942, p. 30.

ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the woman the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their own village.

The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the principle [illegible] was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large fabricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

"dwellers of the river). The Ary (parrot) clb is referred to as arudiwat, or "pools of the river of the parrot." There was no legend of genealogical descendancy, but each clb recognized its eponymous object as their particular "old person." In addition, many clbs had other "old people" who were linked with a clb through those sacred trumpets belonging to it. These ancestors were spoken of as "companions of the trumpets." Clbs whose trumpets had one or more of the same companions was considered to be more closely allied to each other than to to other clbs of that moiety. This lineage was so close in some cases that the members of one were considered the wbers of the other. During my residence in Cabruá a poor Mundurucú man of that village used the clb names of both Ary and Jabo because they were linked. Another case in Cabruúba that of a father who had so many sons that he assigned no less two to another clb in his moiety that had suffed from a decline in membership.

All of the diurnal manifestations of the clbs were to be found in the men house. It has already been mentioned that there were three orientel poles supporting two rows of hammocks in the men house. This division was not ar- [illegible] the nom row of hammocks slept the men of the white moiety and the south row, those of the red moiety. Also, with this moiety division, each man slept adjacent to his fellw clb members and then fellow phratry members. On the upright posts of the red moietie's side were painted the arts of the red clbs and on the other side of the men's hus, those of the white. These crests,

simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

The sacred trumpets, called *parikó*, embodied the souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by fixed and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulations, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

Political organization

Each Mundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were common in the last century.

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge *maloca*, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row.

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the degree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present.

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which communities were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there.

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring Tupi-Cariban groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[9] This influence was probably brought about [illegible] and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The return to